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that to your God, to your King, to your
country, to yourselves, to your wives and
children, to your souls, and to all
who shall be born hereafter.

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Samuel Baynes

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EXTRACT OF A LETTER

FROM A GENTLEMAN IN AMERICA TO A
FRIEND IN ENGLAND,

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ON THE SUBJECT OF

EMIGRATION.

YOUR suppositions are certainly well founded respecting manufactures. While land is so cheap, and labour is so dear, it will be too hazardous a speculation to embark a capital in any branch of manufacture which has not hitherto been actually pursued with success in this country. Even though these obstacles did not present themselves, I should fear the common lot of inventors and first-improvers; they usually enrich the country and impoverish themselves. I am firmly of opinion, that the first capital employed in establishing the Manchester, the Birmingham,

ham, or the Staffordshire manufactures in America, would be sunk ; and those who bore the “ burthen and heat of the day,” would go without their reward : their successors would probably be enriched.

THE staple of America at present is Land, and the immediate products of land ; and herein seems to me the most pleasant, the most certain, and the most profitable means of employment for capital, to an almost indefinite extent. However, as your enquiries are limited to a certain class of people, and a certain object, I shall confine my observations to them.

THE persons among our friends likely to emigrate from Great Britain to America, are for the most part men of from 600 to 6000 £. fortune : they are in a great degree known and attached to each other ; they are almost universally opponents of the present government in England, as being inconsistent with the principles of liberty ; and most of them have been opponents also of the slave-trade. What then will probably be the conditions

ditions they would wish for in the situation they are finally to adopt?

COMING from a country of political oppression and religious bigotry, (so far at least as the church is forced into a connection with the state), they would seek in America in the first place, an asylum from civil persecution and religious intolerance—some spot where they would suffer no defalcation in their political rights, on account of their theological opinions; and where they might be permitted to enjoy a freedom of speech as well as of sentiment, on the two most important subjects of human enquiry.

BEING opposed to the system of Negro slavery, the majority of them will have very strong, if not insuperable objections, to those parts of the continent where slaves are the only servants to be procured; and where the law and the practice of the country tends to support this humiliating distinction between man and man. But as labourers in husbandry, as well as for domestic purposes, will be necessary beyond the number likely to be brought

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out, some situation must be chosen where servants may be procured with tolerable facility, although slavery do not prevail.

QUITTING a country where the period of civil commotion and internal warfare is at hand, they would wish to fix in a place where they are likely to enjoy the blessings of peace, without the hazard of interruption from any circumstances at present to be foreseen. Flying as they mean to do from the approaching scenes of bloodshed in the *old* country, they will hardly expose themselves unnecessarily to similar dangers in the *new* : of course, the current of prudent emigration will not be directed toward those parts of the continent where the present enmity, or uncertain friendship of the American savages, will render peace and personal security precarious.

BEING either personally, or by reputation, acquainted with each other—driven by similar causes from Great Britain, and equally strangers in America—having their habits of life and their general pursuits and opinions nearly the same, they will have every reason
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to pitch upon a settlement, where they need not be so divided as to renounce the society they have been accustomed to enjoy ; or to accommodate themselves suddenly to a change of habits, and manners, and friends and associates. With many of them in middle life, or advanced in years, this will be a circumstance of the utmost importance to their present determination and future comfort ; and therefore no situation can be perfectly eligible, where this accommodation cannot be procured. But as the number likely to emigrate is considerable, it will be desirable to fix upon some part of the continent, where a large body of contiguous land can readily be procured at a reasonable price.

I SAY at a reasonable price ; because the fortunes of those expected to quit Great Britain for America, in general will not be large. Many of them (indeed a great portion of the whole number) must make painful sacrifices of their fortune to enable them early to put into execution their design of emigration. It will therefore be highly desirable, that such a situation be fixed upon, and such
a plan

a plan of settlement adopted, as will hold out a reasonable expectation of a gradual increase in the value of that property in which they shall be induced to invest the wreck of their British fortunes. Perhaps the purchase of land in some of the American states, is the most speedy as well as the most certain means of improving a present capital ; especially to those who can give an immediate increased value, by settling as neighbours on their own contiguous farms. In this view therefore, and for this purpose, a *large* tract, and at a price not only reasonable, but so low in the first instance as to admit of an early increased value, by the means of a neighbourhood and improving resident Proprietors, is absolutely necessary.

NOR is the article of Climate, unimportant. It will be wished I conceive, that any sudden or violent change should if possible be avoided, and (*cæteris paribus*) that new-comers should be exposed to no greater excess of heat or cold, beyond what they have been accustomed to bear, than the difference in point of natural situation between the two countries
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must inevitably produce. The United States contain so many varieties of climate, that there is great room for choice in this respect; but there is no doubt about the propriety of avoiding in this article the seven months winter of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and the parching summers of Georgia and the Carolinas. Somewhere among the middle states, a situation not very different from the climate of England may easily be found. A perfect similarity is neither necessary nor possible.

WITH these preliminary observations in view, let us examine the inducements to British emigrants of the description before mentioned, which the respective states of America present.

THE southern states of Georgia, and North and South Carolina, seem quite out of the question, from the intense heat of the climate and the prevalence of Negro-slavery.— The intense and long continued cold of New Hampshire and Massachusetts (including Vermont and the province of Maine), appears highly, though not perhaps equally objectionable.

onable. To me at least, it seems a most unpleasant circumstance, that not much above one third of the year is afforded by nature to the farmer, wherein to provide sustenance for the remaining two thirds; which (to use an expression of Mr. J's) like Pharaoh's lean kine devour the fat ones.

IN the north-eastern states moreover, (New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, &c.) property is so much divided, farms are so small, and land in general so dear, that a tract of land of the size proportionate to the proposed object, and at a rate which under the circumstances of the intended emigration, would be deemed reasonable, is hardly to be procured. Add to this, that these parts of the American continent, do themselves furnish yearly a very considerable number of emigrants to the middle and western states. They are "the northern hive" of this country.

THE states of Rhode Island, Jersey, Delaware, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, with the settlements on the western waters, have all of them claims to consideration on the present occasion.

RHODE

RHODE ISLAND in point of climate and productions, as well as in appearance, is perhaps, the most similar to Great Britain of any state in the Union. The winters are somewhat longer and more severe, the summers perhaps a little warmer : but it participates with Great Britain in some measure in the defects of climate, being from its situation subject to a moister atmosphere,* than most of the other states. The soil of Rhode Island also, (though not in general of good quality) is too much improved, and the land too much divided to admit of any large contiguous purchases, though single farms at a rate comparatively moderate might be procured here. This however, is owing to a decay of trade in this part of America, and to the inhabitants themselves, quitting their situations for the prospect of a more advantageous trade. It is rather a grazing than a corn country ; scantily timbered ; plentiful in milk and butter, and cheese ; but not abounding in what the Americans

* This observation is applicable to the vicinity of New York also, where they find that wood intended for use in the southern climates, cannot be sufficiently seasoned. In Pennsylvania it may.

ricans term good or rich land. The division of property, however, and its present tendency rather to decrease than increase in value, renders it ineligible for your proposed scheme.

THE climate of New Jersey (were there no other objections), is unpleasant to Europeans, particularly in the summer season, from its eastern situation, the many swamps it contains, and the quantity of sea coast in proportion to its extent.* Musquitoes here are more troublesome than in many of the other northern or even middle states; and in the more eligible parts of New Jersey property is too much divided, and too dear to promise success to an establishment, such as I would recommend.

THE same remarks will in a great degree apply to the state of Delaware, to which also there is a farther objection arising from the illiberality of the religious test law, contained in its constitution; not to mention the present prevalence of Negro slavery in that state.

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* It may be taken as a general rule admitting few exceptions, that the whole eastern shore of America, from Boston to Georgia, and the distance of from 50 to 150 miles from the sea, is comparatively barren and unhealthy.

THE state of New York seems increasing more rapidly in every circumstance of prosperity, than any other state perhaps in the Union, Pennsylvania excepted. The city of New York ranks next to Philadelphia as a place of trade, and the back parts of the state afford at no very dear price, immense tracts of the richest land. Neither is the climate in general so different from that of Great Britain, as to constitute any formidable objection to British settlers. A little more warmth indeed, would be no disadvantage : For although the numerous tribe of American apples are to be found here in great perfection, the peach does not perfectly ripen at Albany.

THE advantages however, of contiguous settlement and cheapness of land, cannot be procured in this state, unless the persons already described wishing to settle in the vicinity of each other, should go so far back perhaps, as the Genesee country, which since the present unfortunate war with the Indians, has attracted a great number of New England emigrants, who a year or two ago were induced to travel to the western frontier of the
Ohio,

Ohio, in search of cheaper and better land, than could be found in their own country. Indeed there does not appear to be much difference in the kind or quality of the soil, between the first rate land of the Genesee and the Kentucky territory: Whatever difference there is, may be fairly attributed to the greater warmth of the climate in the last mentioned part of America, which has its disadvantages in others to counterbalance its benefit in this respect. If the mere circumstance of richness of soil therefore, were to determine emigration, a New England emigrant might reasonably stop in the Genesee country, without taking so long a journey as many of his countrymen have heretofore done.

To this part of the state, however, rich and fertile as it is, there are serious and formidable objections. 1st, The difficulty of procuring servants in husbandry, or indeed of any other kind: for as the land is but just begun to be settled, the inhabitants of course consist at present almost wholly of the class of first-settlers, who depend chiefly on the labour of themselves and their families for support.

3dly,

2ly, The superfluous produce of the Genesee lands, must be sent either to Philadelphia or to New-York, by the way of Albany. The conveyance will be troublesome and expensive both ways. That part of the Genesee which is nearest to the Susquehannah, will of course find vent for its produce at Philadelphia. This city will also attract the produce of a great part of the Genesee country, which from mere situation would seem more in the vicinity of the New-York market, in consequence of the greater exertions making by the state of Pennsylvania, to facilitate the carriage of commodities by means of new roads and canals, and the improvement of river navigation. It is evident from hence (as indeed it is from a simple inspection of the map) that the interior parts of Pennsylvania, in the vicinity of the Susquehannah, where the land for the most part is extremely fine, have very considerable advantages over the most advantageous part of the Genesee tract, in the facility of transporting produce to market. Therefore, unless under circumstances of much greater superiority of soil in the Genesee, than as yet appear to exist, the produce of the interior

terior of Pennsylvania must come first and cheapest to market. But the present price of lands in the Genesee, is full as high as in the rich parts of Pennsylvania, a hundred and fifty miles nearer to Philadelphia. 3dly, The general richness of the soil in the Genesee, renders it difficult to make pleasant and commodious roads: humidity makes the ground soft and muddy. 4thly, The same circumstances are unfavourable also in respect to health. Indeed the whole tract of the Genesee country lies under the probable imputation of being insalubrious. The rivers are sluggish; the country flat; the soil moist; and as I have heard, not any thing like a mountain is to be found from the Genesee river to the falls of Niagara. So prevalent indeed has been the fever and ague, that the new settlers on the one side, and the Indians on the other side, of the Genesee river, not long ago were almost equally affected with this debilitating disorder. As the settlers become accustomed to the climate, they become less liable to attacks of these intermittents; but few, if any, escape a very unpleasant seasoning. Hence also it may arise, that the tribe of Indians in that
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neighbourhood are so inferior in size and strength. 5thly, It is rather an unpleasant circumstance attending the Genesee country, that it forms the frontier to the Indians, who navigate the lakes along the whole tract. Indeed many tracts in the Genesee territory itself, are reserved by the Indians. At present they are friendly ; and should they become otherwise, they will be ultimately subdued : but the state of intermediate contest on such an occasion, would ill suit the habits and inclinations of a peaceable European. Along the Mohawk river, the lands are rich and heavily timbered ; but sell at a price superior to the comparative advantages they present.

It seems evident from the circumstances I have enumerated, that the Genesee country, which in other respects is the most eligible part of New-York state for the purposes we have in view, has many disadvantages attending it. Disadvantages which an American emigrant from the thick settled states of New-England would regard as trifling ; but which I have no doubt will appear in a more formidable light
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to the description of European emigrants to whom I mean these remarks to apply.

I KNOW of very few objections that can be made to the state of Pennsylvania. In point of climate, the difference between this part of the American continent and Great Britain is not only very supportable, but in my opinion much in favour of the former, even to British feelings, especially in the northern and north-western parts of the state. The summers are somewhat warmer, and the winters colder here than at London ; but the general state of the air, is more dry, more pleasant, and I think more healthy. The central situation of this state with respect to the others, the prosperous state of its treasury, the numerous projected improvements in roads and canals, the possession of the largest and most flourishing city of America,* and the superior proportion not only of imports and exports, but particularly of emigrants of every class that come to the port of Philadelphia—altogether make it probable that Pennsylvania may fairly be regarded

* Philadelphia.

regarded as the most flourishing state of the Union. I do not count much upon the residence of Congress at Philadelphia, because that is an advantage (if it be one) merely temporary, and because the persons disposed to emigrate from Great Britain, of the class to which I have all along alluded, will not be disposed to a residence in a metropolis; tho' the occasional advantages of such a vicinity are very numerous.

I PREFER in a general view, Pennsylvania to New York, because the climate is somewhat more dry, and therefore more favourable to health; somewhat warmer, and therefore more favourable to vegetation, in the former than in the latter state. In Pennsylvania, the government is more intent upon those public improvements that will force population and the speedy rise of lands, its revenues are more productive, and its treasury richer. In all other circumstances, Pennsylvania is at least equal to New York, and in those just enumerated, it has in my mind the preference. But we are not to seek in the south eastern line of this state, either

for large tracts of land, for good land or for cheap land. As you approach the coast, property is divided, the land is barren, and the prices high. Neither is the climate in the south eastern line of Pennsylvania (for 200 or 250 miles, for instance, from the sea) so pleasant, or so favourable to health, or to vegetation, as in the more northern and north-western parts of the state. Thus, in Philadelphia during the present and the last winters, the snows have repeatedly appeared and disappeared; frosts succeed to thaws, and the roots of the grain are left exposed to the severity of the cold. This inconvenience is more frequently experienced by the farmer in the part of Pennsylvania approaching to Maryland, and often proves a very serious inconvenience. While in the northern parts of Northumberland, Luzerne and Northampton counties, the snow when it once falls in a quantity, generally remains through the winter; producing more settled weather, and protecting the crops underneath.

MOREOVER, the largest unoccupied tracts of land, of course the cheapest, and beyond comparison

comparison the richest lands in this state; are to be found in the northern parts of the counties just mentioned, and of Allegany county; that is generally speaking, north of latitude 41°. Of these I prefer the eastern, rather than the western division, because a vicinity to the branches of the Susquehanna which will convey produce to Philadelphia and Baltimore, is and ever will be much more valuable, than the neighbourhood of those waters that communicate at present only with the Ohio. Add to this, that Allegany and Northumberland counties, from Sinnamohing westward is entirely unsettled, while the *second class of settlers* are fast occupying the eastern part of the same line of country, to the confines of the state. A farther consideration has some weight with me; namely, that the American Indians are still in the practice of frequenting the western part of this tract, even to the source of the Sinnamohing; and they claim the Allegany to be the future and perpetual boundary between the Indians and the whites. These observations you will easily judge of, by casting your eye over Howel's, or Adlum's map of Pennsylvania.

THE objections to Maryland and Virginia, relate to climate and slave-labour. These states are very unpleasantly warm in the summer season to an English constitution, and the impossibility of procuring any servants but Negro-slaves, is an objection almost insuperable. Add to this, that Philadelphia is a much better market for produce than Baltimore, particularly for wheat, which usually sells a shilling higher at Philadelphia, than at the port just mentioned.

THE Federal City, recently laid out between the Forks of the Potowmack, must give a considerable encreased and encreasing value to the country round it; and the future residence of Congress there, must also in time, make Washington City what New York and Philadelphia are now. Hence I have no doubt that half a dozen or a dozen persons might find, and settle upon plantations, in that neighbourhood, each sufficiently extensive to occupy a moderate capital; and to which there would be a yearly accession of value, independent of their own exertions, whatever the present price of the lands might

might be. But still, the climate and slave-labour would remain: and, whether it be due to one, or to both of these causes combined, there certainly is a want of individual and national energy in the southern states, which you do not find in the others: the stile of farming is more slovenly, the individuals are more idle and dissipated, and the progress of public improvements in general, more slow than in the states on the northern side. I have no doubt the climate contributes something to this indolence of disposition: but where labour is confined to slaves, who do not benefit in proportion to their industry, and where the white inhabitant regards himself as a different and superior being, the general state of improvement must be affected by such opinions universally adopted in theory, and pursued in practice.

HENCE, whatever may be the case as to particular spots, the gradual accession of value to landed property, from the operation of constant and regular causes, neither is, nor can be, so great in countries of this description, as in others where the climate admits
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and requires exertion, and where it is no disgrace for a white man to labour.

It appears to me, that the gradual accession of value to landed property which I have just spoken of, will accrue more certainly, more speedily, and to a larger amount, in the states of Pennsylvania and New York, than in either of the remaining states: 1st, On account of the present cheapness of good land; 2dly, On account of the resort of European emigrants to the ports of Philadelphia and New York; and, 3dly, Because the northern counties of these states, are now very reasonably preferred to the western country, by the New England settlers.

WHERE good lands can be procured in favourable situations, at from three half crowns to half a guinea an acre, a capital employed in the purchase of such lands will much sooner be doubled, than if the original price had been 2l. or 3l. sterling per acre. An accession of three half crowns per acre, additional value to the former description, will produce a duplication of the capital employed; while

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an additional value of three half crowns per acre to lands of the latter description, will produce about 15 or 16 per cent. only. Moreover, 5 s. or 7 s. 6d. additional value is much more easily given to land of the first kind, and when given is more visible, more evident than in the other case; and farther, land of this description must necessarily entice emigration and derive consequent value from new settlers, even though value should not be given by the gradual population of the country itself. It is clear also, that other two causes I have mentioned, must give a decided advantage to the two middle states, and render them for some years, more eligible situations for the employment of time and trouble, as well as capital, than the other states appear to afford. Of the two, I give the preference to Pennsylvania, for the reasons I have already mentioned: but in both these states, European emigrants may easily find plenty of land, of rich land, of cheap land, well watered, within the reach of navigation, under a good government and a favourable climate.

You will wonder perhaps that I have said

so

so little about the *Shenandoah Valley*, which Brissot has recommended who never saw it : or of *Kentucky*, that land of promise to which our friends in England look forward, and of which Imlay has given so flattering a description.

THE *Shenandoah Valley* extends in fact from Winchester in Virginia, to Carlisle and the *Susquehannah* in Pennsylvania. What I have said of the states of Virginia and Maryland as to climate and slave-labour, will of course relate to those parts of the *Shenandoah Valley* within those states : but throughout the whole extent of it, land is too dear to admit of advantageous settlement by those, on whose account I write to you. With respect to Kentucky, Imlay has told the truth ; but he has not told (and perhaps he was not aware of) the whole truth.

THE climate is full as hot in Kentucky as in Maryland ; and the atmosphere is moist.

THERE is scarcely any labour to be hired but that of slaves, let out for that purpose by their owners.

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THERE is no part of Kentucky (Lexington perhaps, and a few miles round it excepted) which is perfectly safe from the incursions of the Indians ; and the road in going and returning both by Pittsburg and the Wilderness, is liable to perpetual molestation by the savages. The Indians seem determined upon making the Ohio and the Allegany, the boundary between them and the whites : the western settlements upon the Ohio, the Miami, and the Scioto rivers, are therefore quite out of question in point of safety, whatever may be thought of the eastern territory of Ohio : and it is not long ago, since the Indians made excursions as far as Frankfort, which is the present seat of the Kentucky government.

THE eligible situations on the east side of the Ohio, are already occupied by disputing proprietors ; and a tract of land from 1 to 200,000 acres is not to be procured unless in detached parts, and from several proprietors.

THE situations worth having on the safe side of the Ohio in Kentucky, already sell beyond their real comparative value, and are going

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now out of fashion : so that a gradual increase in value is not to be looked for at present.

The gross negligence and inattention of the Virginia land office, in granting more patents than one for the same land, has rendered it almost inevitable, that a purchaser in Kentucky buys a law-suit with every plot of unoccupied land he pays for there.

The frequent disputes with the Indians, imposes the duty of personal militia service in Kentucky ; if a substitute be purchased, it amounts to a considerable tax.

The distance from European connections and intelligence, is an unpleasant circumstance attending this part of America. If our European friends hereafter, from motives of commerce or curiosity, should be induced to pay a visit to America, we might stand a chance of seeing them if we resided only 100 or 150 miles from Philadelphia or New York ; but a visit at 800 miles distance is not to be expected, even from those who have voyaged from Europe to America.

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ADD to this, that the soil is so rich, and there is so great a proportion (comparatively) of moist weather, that roads are difficult to be made, and when made are frequently so muddy as to be very unpleasant to travel in.

TO Europeans, some few European commodities are absolutely necessary; in Kentucky they are scarce and dear. But if they were not so, they must be purchased chiefly with the capital carried thither; for till the Mississippi be opened, there is no permanent vent for any superfluous produce that may be raised. Hence, the superior richness of the lands, is of little importance till servants can be procured to cultivate them, and a market be found where the planter can dispose of the commodities he produces.

IF it be said, that the Mississippi is in fact open at present on payment of duties to the Spanish government, I say in return, that both the safety of the cargo, and the amount of the duties, are at present uncertain; and certainly will not be obtained but by force.

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Of an expedition for this purpose, the people of Kentucky must bear almost the whole danger and expence; and it is doubtful whether a separation between the eastern and the western states, must not previously take place.

EVEN when the Mississippi shall be perfectly free to American navigators, the length of time occupied in exporting produce down the Mississippi, and returning by land through Winchester or Pittsburg, (setting aside the danger) is such a drawback upon the pleasures of domestic life, as to form in my mind, a decisive objection to a settlement in that quarter, if I looked to raising more produce than my own family could consume.

If an intermediate "depot" be adopted (as must be the case in time), this will be such a drawback from the value of the produce, as must detract also from the value of the land.

THE state of Kentucky, is too poor as yet to adopt any material improvements in respect of roads or water carriage. This must be the case for many years to come, and of course

course the state of profitable and social communication will long be imperfect.

To these, many other objections might be added ; but I fancy they are sufficient to outweigh all considerations of mild winters and luxuriant vegetation, which comprize the chief advantages Kentucky can boast of. The rage for emigration thither is nearly stopt in America, and there is still less inducement for Europeans to give into it.

You have now all the ideas I am able to furnish you, respecting the proper places for a numerous and contiguous emigration and settlement. I leave you to form your own opinion of the credit due to them. There may be exceptions and limitations to some of them, but upon the whole I dare venture to assert, they are sufficiently accurate to be prudently acted upon.